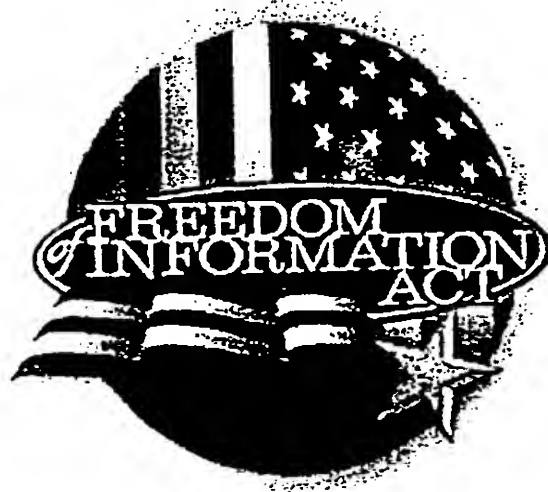




FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**HUEY P. LONG**

**PART 1 OF 7**



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## **FILE NUMBERS**

**49-12330**

**62-27030**

**62-28479**

**62-29635**

**62-31578**

**62-53007**

**98-11623**

49-12330

11 95

49-12330-2

81

OCT 25

JOHN M. DUNAY, JR., SAA LERNER AND WISE, INCORPO-

On 10/25/51, bankrupt filed petition for  
reorganization of creditors signed order  
referee to pay all administrative expenses & claims  
to pay all administrative expenses & claims



49-12330-1

1

951

49-12330-2

81

JOHN M. DUNAY, JR., CALIFORNIA AND WILSON, INCORPORATED  
JOHN M. DUNAY, JR., CALIFORNIA AND WILSON, INCORPORATED

On 5/23/51, bankrupt filed petition for reorganization of creditors. After special meeting of creditors, the court signed order to pay all administrative expenses & claims in full. The court also signed order to pay all other claims in full. The court also signed order to pay all other claims in full.

17-1950

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| 49-12330-1  | 11 1951 |
| JOHN M. DUNAY, JR., SAA LERNER AND WISS, INCORPORATED, SEYMOUR WEISS, PRESIDENT AND TREASURER, JOSEPH LERNER, SECRETARY |         |

|  |    |             |
|--|----|-------------|
| 49-12330-2   | 81 | OCT 25 1951 |
| JOHN M. DUNAY, JR., SAA LERNER AND WISS, INCORPORATED, SEYMOUR WEISS, PRESIDENT AND TREASURER, JOSEPH LERNER, SECRETARY  |    |             |
| On 5/23/51, bankrupt filed petition for special meeting of creditors. After special meeting, Referee ROBERT LOWENTHAL signed order to pay all administrative expenses & claims in full upon compliance with terms of order, an order vacating adjudication & dismissing involuntary petition will be entered. Since then, declined protection in view of lack of proof as to |    |             |

44-12350

|          |   |         |
|----------|---|---------|
| 44-12350 | 1 | 11 1951 |
|----------|---|---------|

|            |    |             |
|------------|----|-------------|
| 49-12330-2 | 51 | OCT 25 1951 |
|------------|----|-------------|

JOHN M. DURAY, JR., SAA LERNER AND WISS, INCORPORATED  
JOSEPH LERNER, BROKER

On 5/23/51, bankrupt filed petition for special meeting of creditors. After special meeting, referee H. F. BENT, U.S. Marshal signed order to pay all administrative expenses & claims in full upon compliance with terms of order, on order vacating adjudication & dismissing involuntary petition. No further action was taken. No further protection in view of above.

17

2

49-12330

|            |         |
|------------|---------|
| 49-12330-1 | 11 (95) |
|------------|---------|

|            |    |             |
|------------|----|-------------|
| 49-12330-2 | 51 | OCT 25 1951 |
|------------|----|-------------|

JOHN M. DUNAY, JR., SAA LERNER AND WISS, INCORP-  
ED, NEW YORK, N.Y.  
JOHN LERNER, SAA

On 5/23/51, bankrupt filed petition for special  
meeting of creditors. After special meeting,  
Referee H. B. L. LORANTHEAL signed order on 6/1/51  
to pay all administrative expenses & claims in  
full from company with terms of order, and  
order was being administered & distributed in  
order. Referee will be asked to order that  
decided protection in view of at 3/5/51  
decided protection in view of at 3/5/51

49-12330-2



417-12330



|  |    |             |
|--|----|-------------|
| 49-12330-2   | 51 | OCT 23 1951 |
| JOHN M. DUNAY, JR., SAA LERNER AND WISS, INCORPORATED  |    |             |
| On 7/24/51, Bankruptcy filed petition for reorganization of creditors. After special meeting of creditors, referred to court for order to pay all administrative expenses & claims in full. Order signed with terms of order. Order will be signed in view of above. |    |             |

417-12330-2

62-27030

"The honeymoon is over. Now see how they really get along."

This is the figure of speech most popular in Washington now to describe the relationship of President Roosevelt to the nation. A year ago Franklin D. Roosevelt was still the captain and quarterback of a football team—to use his own apt description—directing a bewildering succession of plays against a retreating, though formidable foe. A tensely anxious throng of spectators cheered him fervently—from both sides of the grandstand.

The picture in Washington today, at the halfway mark of the administration, has not the vivid color of a football scene. Even the glamor of the honeymoon has faded. The more prosaic period seems to have arrived when buying bread and butter, and shoes for the kids, is the chief concern in the White House, even if it means that the head of the family has that worried, bill-paying look and has lost a little of the buoyant confidence that marked the beginning of the romance.

For the first time in Washington you hear that "Roosevelt is slipping." Within the last few weeks a change has become apparent. You hear this from congressmen, than whose ears there are none closer to the ground. You hear it from Republicans and Democrats, alike. You hear it from conservatives and from liberals. You even hear it from newspaper correspondents, with whom President Roosevelt has enjoyed—and still does—the greatest popularity.

At the same time it is clear, too, that the termination of the honeymoon does not mean that the marriage won't be a success and that the principals won't live happily ever after. The most eager gossips concede that Franklin may make a good head of the family, after all, if times get a little bit better and he gives up some of his extravagance and fancy ideas.

#### "MOTHER-IN-LAW" PROBLEM

Financial difficulties, however, are not the only troubles facing the couple. Like all newlyweds, they have the mother-in-law problem and, even more recently, the dapper home-wrecker. Congress, has threatened for some time to take a hand in the Roosevelt affairs. But who would have thought that Huey Long would suddenly become the third corner in the triangle?

There is no question but that Louisiana's "Kingfish" is the outstanding topic in the capital today. Up to the time of Gen. Hugh Johnson's attack on him, he was regarded throughout the country as a clown and in Washington as a madman. Overnight he became a menace and a movement. He is more feared than scorned, now, in spite of the fact that Gen. Johnson's biting words gave courage to foes in the Senate who previously had been too timid to attack Long. While citizens generally have applauded Johnson's cracking-down, observers in Washington definitely feel that the net result

has been to make the Kingfish's rank grow even more formidable. The Kingfish has already made his mark on the country into the Roosevelt administration for re-election in 1934.

Huey is more feared than other demagogues accused of appealing to the "insane fringes" of the country because of the nucleus of definite power he already possesses in his own state and more particularly because of the predictable ruthlessness he has demonstrated in wielding it. One of the ablest Washington correspondents has become Huey's confidant and unofficial adviser. An excellent illustration of Huey's character is to be found in what the Kingfish recently confided to that newspaper man about some current plans. Here is the conversation, in effect:

Huey—"I think I'll put the Louisiana newspapers to death. They haven't been fair to me."

Mr. X—"How're you going to do that, Kingfish?"

Huey—"Well, I already had my Legislature establish a tax of two per cent. on all advertising lineage. I might boost that to 55 per cent, and I guess those newspapers wouldn't live long then. Another way I might put them to death, that I'm thinking of, is start a Shopping News. And it wouldn't be any ordinary shopping news. It would have the best features in the country and comics and I guess the newspaper wouldn't last long then. Of course, too, I'd put on news broadcasts every 15 minutes from my university's radio station."

And he meant every word of it.

#### STILL IN THE BALANCE

The threat of the Kingfish and the old-time troublesomeness of Congress reasserting itself only add to elements that create a complete air of uncertainty in the capital. At the mid-way point of Theodore Roosevelt's first term there was no question but that his administration was a success. Half way through Taft's administration there was pretty general agreement that it was a flop. Equally definite is the feeling in Washington at present that you can't predict success or failure any more now than you could a year ago.

Has recovery actually begun? The President says so. The Republican leader in the House says so. High government officials produce reams of reports to indicate that it has. On the other hand there are plenty of experts who present equally positive proof that it is nowhere in sight. The confirmed pessimists contend that even if the turn has come, recovery can't possibly catch up with the government expenditures now staggering totals ever. A No. 1 apostle of gloom, and yet a sound student of politics, offers the interesting

62-27030-A

that inflation will proceed apace with growing Roosevelt unpopularity, so that the Republicans will regain control in 1936—just in time to be in the saddle to accept responsibility for the final crash which will wind up the whole affair.

Is the feeling that Roosevelt is "slipping" due merely to the circumstance that his plans are not working perfectly or is there a change in the President himself? Americans have a habit of patting a winner on the back and being

quick to turn their own backs on a loser. The fact that the New Deal is not an assured success is in itself enough to account for the change in tone in the flood of letters which inundate members of Congress. Their "support the President" theme has lately given

way to a current of argumentativeness. Senators and representatives are quick to take this cue to speak their own minds in opposition to White House policies, and to venture the opinion that the President is losing his grip.

Close observers go one step beyond this analysis in reporting a change in the man Roosevelt. What they find is hardly more than would be expected in any leader whose campaigns were crumbling on several fronts. They describe him as not so buoyant as before, as warier and not so frank. He is harder and firmer, both in manner and action. The first signs of irritation also appeared when he delivered his first lecture at a recent press conference, chiding the correspondents for speculating too much about the presidential attitude toward affairs which the President said had not even come before him for consideration. For such reasons the phrase is current that Roosevelt is slipping, yet the users of the phrase acknowledge that perhaps he is slipping onto safer and more solid ground.

Has the New Deal gone overboard in order to promote recovery along old-fashioned lines? The uncertainty on this topic does not seem to be so strong. There may be inflation of the currency but there is deflation throughout the vast network of plans which formed the New Deal. Retreat on all fronts is the keynote of the opening of the administration's second half. Vast hordes of workers in the NRA are just marking time. The dizzy activity which made the huge Commerce building a national madhouse has completely subsided. The delegations of business men and swarms of lawyers and lobbyists who raced through the corridors from conference to conference have scattered to all points of the compass. So many concessions are being made to opponents of NRA that it is generally conceded that by June 15, when it is scheduled to die, there will be so little left of it as to make its fate a matter of comparatively small importance.

The White House is reported to be ready to forget entirely its social security program. Another project slated for abandonment is the plan to do away with holding companies. Even the work-relief program now under consideration in Congress is listed among the projects that may never materialize. Already the famous pink slips for income tax publicity are on the way to the discard.

#### YOUNGER RADICALS QUIT

The modification of schemes for reform is dramatized by the exodus from Washington of the younger radicals. Hostesses deplore the gaps in their parties, so brightly filled until recently with talk of "the Revolution." Gradually this sub-Brain Trust group has become disillusioned on learning the ways of practical politics. Rather than share in a kind of work which they did not envision they have been packing up their bags and going home.

Although the President may be scaling down his ambitions for the country, the Capitol city is not retrenching in its personal scale of living. Washington's magnificent distances are becoming more magnificent and the splendor in which the nation's leaders are guiding its destinies is reaching to heights beyond even Cecil DeMille's grandest conception.

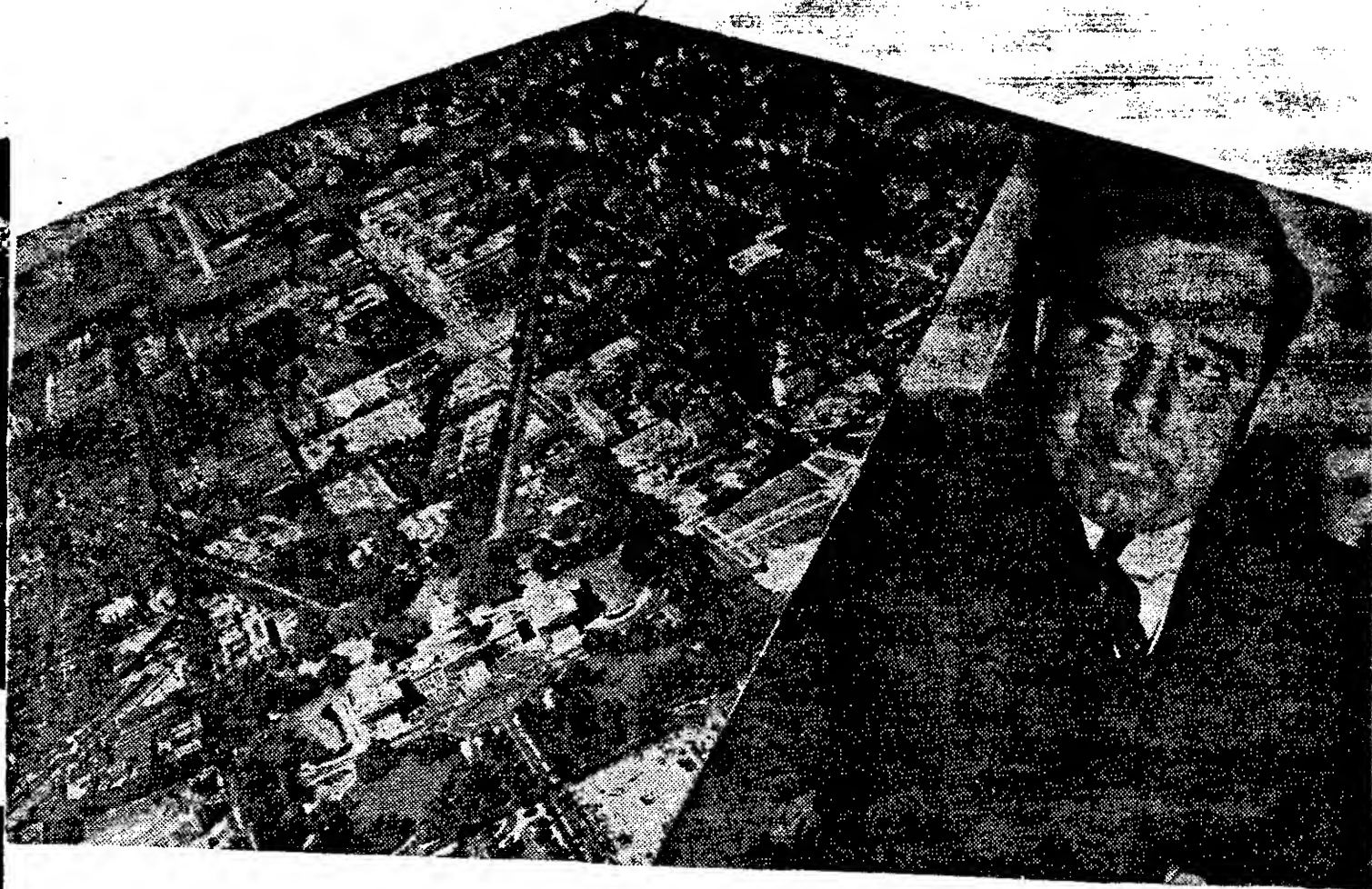
The row of new buildings which glorify Pennsylvania avenue would test the powers of a circus press agent to describe. The resplendent edifice in which the department of justice holds court, for instance, has an underground garage with two stalls for each of its principal functionaries, each stall designated "Mr. Hockshaw" or "Mr. Doolittle," in printed signs such as grace all great executive desks. The marble corridors extend to such endless, involved length, that employees who worked there nearly a month now don't dare leave their offices on interdepartmental business for fear they can't find their way back. The library makes the Morgan library look like a Cornhill bookstall.

There is hardly any evidence in the cloistered luxury of these court yards and inlaid pillars that there the legal brains of the country are catching counterfeiters or sending Kentucky distillers to malodorous penitentiaries. But we had almost overlooked the reception room to the able J. Edgar Hoover's bureau of criminal investigation. Through modernistic pillars we enter a high vaulted room, with a brilliant color scheme in which aluminum pillars, marble, inlaid maple and other materials produce an ultra-ultra effect. Plush carpets soften the tread of the visitor, who already begins to feel somewhat of a criminal himself. Several Negroes in heavy hover imposingly in the vicinity of elaborate museum cases upon which spotlights play.



The visitor is prepared to gaze upon the original copy of the Declaration of Independence, or at least the first draft of the New Deal. But the exhibits here displayed to rouse his patriotism are the last relics of John Dillinger. Here are his bullet-twisted silver-rimmed glasses, his blood-stained straw hat, even the unsmoked cigar he had in his pocket, all neatly numbered and labeled. Surrounding them are all the guns which this public enemy and his pals had used—a small arsenal of automatics, sawed off shot guns and machine guns. Finally, down more marble staircases the visitor wanders, more bewildered than ever at the transaction of our public business. And perhaps a little thirsty, too, he strolls to the nearest bar for refreshment. Here he encounters at last the strangest and most characteristic Washington custom of all. For you can drink your cocktails in Washington in the open now, but they must be mixed in concealment. The swankier establishments boast small latticed booths, into which the furtive bartender slinks to pour his ingredients. The more plebeian places have boxlike arrangements, behind which the bartender may perform his manipulations much as a sleight of hand artist would produce a gold fish bowl from a small black box. And so, you muse over your secretively born Martini, is it any wonder Washington is a daffy place, where most of the real business is done behind closed doors and the best that the disillusioned citizen can see is the tooth pick being stuck in the olive?

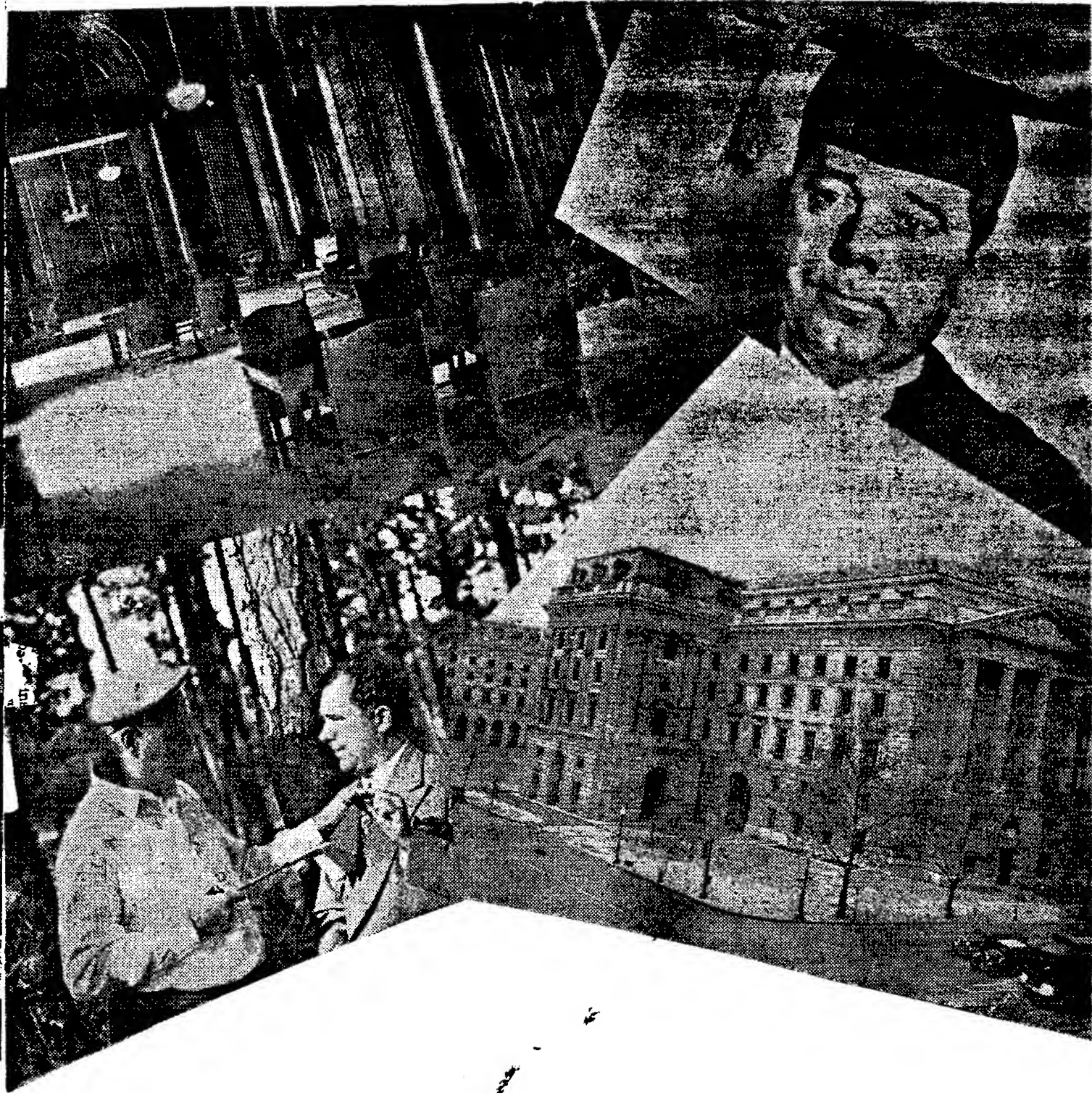
62-27030-17



## **Boom and Burlesque the Dominant Impressions One Gets of Washington Today**

Huey Long, as we see him pictured here in a few of his wide variety of roles, supplies the burlesque while the growing magnificence of the national capital is partially revealed by the above photographic snatches of some of the new construction—the new postoffice building and Postmaster General Farley's office, for instance.

62-27030-A



62-27030-#

5

# Today in Washington

## Huey Long's Share Wealth Program Is Filled With Fallacies

By DAVID LAWRENCE

Copyright, 1935, All Rights Reserved.

WASHINGTON, March 9.—Senator Huey Long's idea of Utopia, explained in his speech broadcast over the radio, has not brought a single answer from his colleagues in the United States Senate, nor has it drawn from his adversary, Gen. Johnson, any comment except that the Louisiana Senator is a joke.

But the millions of persons who listened to Huey Long probably didn't think it was such a joke. For he placed before the country an argument which, if it does not go unchallenged, will produce more and more converts to his cause.

Basically Huey Long is right when he says that President Roosevelt was the first to champion redistribution of wealth and that the only difference between them is that he, Huey Long, wants to do something about it and the President hasn't kept his promise.

The truth is that the only difference between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Long is in the method and extent of their plans to redistribute wealth. And the further statement may be made that both are wrong, because theoretically redistribution of wealth must be equal and can play no favorites. Huey Long would have a man retain "three or four million dollars." Mr. Roosevelt has not said what his limits would be, though he has said profits should be "fair," which implies that he wants them regulated by the Government.

Col. Leonard Ayres of Cleveland, America's foremost statistician, says that most claims about how the income is at present divided are fallacious. The usual cry is that 2 per cent of the people own 80 per cent of the wealth and get the same division in income. Here is the way Col. Ayres divided the 1929 income, taking the most prosperous year as the basis:

| Income             | Tot. Inc. | Income             | Tot. Inc. |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| Receivers.         | P.C.      | Receivers.         | P.C.      |
| Richest tenth..... | 34.6      | Next tenth.....    | 6.7       |
| Next tenth.....    | 13.1      | Next tenth.....    | 5.9       |
| Next tenth.....    | 10.3      | Next tenth.....    | 5.2       |
| Next tenth.....    | 8.9       | Next tenth.....    | 4.5       |
| Next tenth.....    | 7.7       | Poorest tenth..... | 3.1       |

Taking the data of the Department of Commerce from 1929 through 1932, Col. Ayres shows that in 1929, for instance, the average monthly earnings of all workers for corporations was \$119.

If there had been an absolutely equal redistribution of all wages, salaries, all bonuses and all the shares of proprietors, the monthly amount obtained by the workers in 1929—the most prosperous year—would have increased from \$119 to

he would do if that structure collapsed and caused a money panic. Certainly the savings banks and insurance companies which have real estate mortgages would be deprived of their investments and property values would shrink so that savings in banks and life insurance policies would be reduced to a fraction of their original amount.

Many public men have gone around the country talking about redistributing wealth in utter disregard of the fact that the Constitution says property shall not be taken without due process, which means that compensation must be made by the Government or somebody. Confiscation by taxation is a violation of the Federal and State constitutions.

The Huey Long plan might better be called a plan to overthrow the rights of property and the Constitution, and if he thinks the owners of property would stand supinely by when all this is happening he is just forgetting a little American history in which, at Lexington and Concord, a gallant band of patriots fought a despotic government that once attempted to take their property away by taxation. All of this reveals that logically Huey Long, with his redistribution plan, really has in mind bringing the United States alongside Soviet Russia as another aspirant for experimentation in the communistic life.

Mr. Nathan ✓  
Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Backus ✓  
Mr. Baughman ✓  
Chief Clerk ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

AS

62-17030-17

6



... means to say...  
... of the...  
... would...  
... have...  
... disappeared...  
... of such...  
... would...  
... were to have divided...  
... the total national income...  
... a year like 1928, when there...  
... 50,000,000 gainfully employed...  
... and a national income...  
... eighty-five billion dollars, the...  
... average per worker would have been...  
... \$138 a month. With the...  
... in our national income in 1933...  
... would have been \$67 per month.

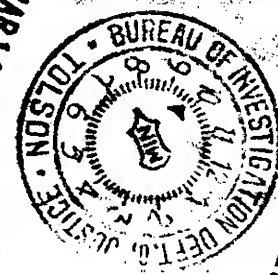
What Huey Long overcomes...  
... redistribution...  
... means will bring chaos or communism...  
... with all its attendant evils...  
... apart from money or wealth. Then...  
... if the Ford motor car company...  
... which Senator Long mentioned over...  
... the radio, were to be confiscated...  
... as he suggested, and its supposed...  
... value of two billions of dollars...  
... taken over by the Government to...  
... be redistributed so that Henry...  
... Ford and his son would each retain...  
... \$4,000,000, then the question would...  
... naturally arise whether these two...  
... eminent members of the Ford fam-...  
... ily, with their \$4,000,000 each...  
... wouldn't prefer to call it a day...  
... and take a world cruise, leaving it...  
... to somebody else to worry about a...  
... two-billion dollar business.

Maybe this would lead to the clos-  
... ing up of the Ford plant, with un-  
... employment for hundreds of thou-  
... sands of persons throughout the...  
... United States related to the Ford...  
... motor car and truck business. May-  
... be it would lead to a Government...  
... operation in which henchmen of...  
... Huey Long and other politicians...  
... would fill the key offices and jobs...  
... so that bureaucracy would flourish...  
... and private initiative would be as...  
... dead as a doornail.

There are other fallacies which...  
... the Louisiana Senator developed in...  
... his speech. First he suggested that...  
... everybody would receive a house...  
... a radio and an automobile out of...  
... his allotment of \$5,000 of wealth...  
... This would mean forcing a lot of...  
... uncongenial persons to live to-  
... gether in the same house or it...  
... would mean tearing down houses...  
... that are now worth more than the...  
... sum allotted.

As for the mortgage structure of...  
... the nation, with tens of billions of...  
... dollars of money invested by prop-  
... erty owners, large and small, the...  
... Louisiana Senator doesn't say what

MAR 1 3 1935 AM



RECEIVED

|             |       |
|-------------|-------|
| Mr. Nathan  | ..... |
| Mr. Tolson  | ..... |
| Mr. Clegg   | ..... |
| Mr. Cowley  | ..... |
| Mr. Egan    | ..... |
| Mr. Quinn   | ..... |
| Chief Clerk | ..... |

WCNSA

# CONGRESS TODAY

## SENATE

CONTINUES DEBATE ON TARIFF BILL.

PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS COMMITTEE CONTINUES HEARINGS ON LONG

OVERTON ELECTION CASE.

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE RESUMES HEARINGS ON COPYRIGHT TREATY.

MINES AND MINING COMMITTEE CONSIDERS THOMAS' OIL REGULATION BILL.

HOUSE:

SPECIAL RULE BILLS.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE CONSIDERS COMMUNICATIONS BILL.

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE CONTINUES CHICAGO INVESTIGATION.

5/29--R833

270-26-4-1

|             |       |
|-------------|-------|
| Mr. Nathan  | ..... |
| Mr. Tolson  | ..... |
| Mr. Clegg   | ..... |
| Mr. Cowley  | ..... |
| Mr. Egan    | ..... |
| Mr. Quinn   | ..... |
| Mr. Lester  | ..... |
| Chief Clerk | ..... |
| Mr. Egan    | ..... |

DAILY MIRROR

# The DAILY WASHINGTON MERRY GO ROUND

By DREW PEARSON & ROBERT S. ALLEN

WASHINGTON.—No appointment to a government body in years—possibly not even a new Cabinet—has aroused such discussion, pressure and heat as selection of the five appointees to the Stock Market Board.

Advice on these appointments has been deluging the White House like the Christmas mail. At one side of the deluge at times can be seen the hidden hand of Professor Moley, still a potent factor in steering the President and on the whole in favor of shackling Wall Street.

On the other side are a multitude of reactionary friends and influences, constantly floating trial balloons and the names of supposed sure-fire appointees to the Board.

Among these have been:

Thomas J. Watson, president International Business Machines, president Tabulating Machine Company, chairman Dayton Scale Company, director International Business Machines, Limited, Business Machines Company of Delaware, International Time Recording Company, Dictaphone Company, Western Electric Instrument Corporation, Chase National Bank. The Department of Justice has taken action against the first named for violation of the Anti-Trust Act.



William C. Bullitt

Sidney J. Weinberg, prominent in the firm of Goldman-Sachs, and an organizer of the speculative Shenandoah and Blue Ridge companies during the days of the Coolidge bull market.

John M. Hancock, partner of Lehman Brothers, chairman of the Jewell Tea Company, director of Kelly-Springfield Tires, Kuppenheimer Clothes, Sears-Robuck, Long-Bell Lumber, Brunswick-Balke-Collender, Kroger Grocery and Baking, Florsheim Shoes, Cluett, Peabody & Co., International Silver, Piggly-Wiggly, American Stores, Cuneo Press, American Investors, Van Raalte Collars, A. Stein and Company, Van Camp Packing Co., Van Camp Milk Co., Van Camp Products, Helena Rubinstein Inc., Kimberly-Clark Corp.

That Roosevelt will select a man with these affiliations seems doubtful, though the lightning may strike Hancock, who is a close personal friend of the President.

But that he will select one definite conservative seems certain. This was indicated to Massachusetts Senator Walsh the other day, when Walsh heard that the President proposed to appoint Mayor Curley of Boston either to the Stock Market Board or the Wagner Labor Board.

This was a shock to Liberals.

Curley is a distinct conservative and incidentally no political friend of Senator Walsh.

## LOVING CUP

President Roosevelt has offered a silver loving cup as the prize to the winner of a unique international race.

President Roosevelt has offered a prize to the winner of a debate between



The race will be between William C. Bullitt, American Ambassador to the Soviet Government, and Molotov, Chairman of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Premier of Russia.

The goal is to see whether Bullitt can learn more Russian than Molotov can learn English in the same length of time—one year from June 2.

The judge of the race is Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs. He speaks both Russian and English.

#### Huey Long

One reason why Huey Long's colleagues seldom care to tangle with him is his devastating disregard of the usual amenities of Senatorial courtesy.

During the debate on the President's reciprocal tariff bill, Huey resorted to his favored tactics. Member after member had explained at great length, and with pontifical solemnity, what a delicate and complicated thing the tariff was.

But not Huey. To the blinking horror of the chamber he orated as follows:

"There is no hocus-pocus about this tariff. I vote for your copper and you vote for my sugar. That's the way it's done. It was the spirit of the Scripture that caused a man to give his brother a tariff, particularly when he needed his brother's vote to get a tariff for himself."

#### MERRY-GO-ROUND

The President's signature on the Reciprocal Tariff Act was hardly dry when German Ambassador Luther turned up at the State Department to suggest a trade deal... Over 20 nations, most of them Latin-American, have also put in bids for similar agreements... The "platform" framed by the Republican National Committee at its recent Chicago confab was largely the work of Corona-Corona smoking Ogden L. Mills... The former Secretary of the Treasury worked practically all of one night on the document and wrote almost every line himself... When New York newspapers carried a "dope" story that Sidney J. Weinberg, was being considered for the new Stock Market Board, he rushed to the Capital to see what his chances really were... Assuring everyone that he really couldn't afford to take the job, he admitted that if the President insisted he would, of course, make the "sacrifice"... Jim Landis, who probably will head the Stock Market Board, is the son of a Presbyterian Missionary, led his class at Princeton, was a pupil of Felix Frankfurter at Harvard Law School, and is one of the best bridge players in the capital.

Copyright, 1934, United Features

- Mr. Nathan.....
- Mr. Tolson.....
- Mr. Clegg.....
- Mr. Cowley.....
- Mr. Egan.....
- Mr. Quinn.....
- Mr. Lester.....
- Chief Clerk.....
- Mr. Nease.....



**ADDRESS**  
to the  
**LEGISLATURE**

CONVENING MAY 9, 1932

•  
**The Strange Case of**  
**LOUISIANA**

AND  
**HUEY P. LONG**

BY  
**HARRY GAMBLE**

of  
**New Orleans**  
**APRIL 20, 1932**

62-27030-0

## ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATURE LOUISIANA CONVENING MAY 9th, 1932

Bombast: "High-sounding; inflated; big without meaning."—Century Dictionary.

Facing the frightful facts of this State's political and financial condition, is a stark necessity, or we are hopelessly ruined.

A virulent political pestilence seized Louisiana four years ago. Bombastic promises, bombastic modes of campaign, bombastic exaggeration of every evil, bombastic cures for everything; bombast generally caught on with the people, and the King of Bombast, receiving a minority of votes, traded his way to Executive power. Bombast was enthroned, and Bombasto was sworn in as Governor. There followed the most dazzling era of high pressure selling, colossal waste and stealage, impudent misrepresentation, and scandalous self praise; all combined with grandiose and prodigal schemes of public improvement, ever seen or heard of in the Government of any American state.

Bombasto's example of counterfeit success, thus set up in high place, backed by the exclusive and unhampered personal control of more than a hundred and thirty million dollars of Road funds, poisoned the whole state. Its disintegration of our business standards and political morals may be plainly seen and brazenly heard in both public and private life. Children talk it. The craving for paved roads blinded the people to all else and since a hired man Legislature found it profitable not to provide any legal protection for

these Road funds, they became the largest subtle and respectable corruption fund ever seen in this nation. With no relief to be had from that Legislature, which the Governor publicly boasted he bought like sacks of potatoes and shuffled like cards; and resort to the Courts useless for the want of protective laws; the people themselves became alarmed, well knowing that when these funds were gone no more would be forthcoming. Instead of co-operating to kick out the Punch and Judy show that went under the name of the Louisiana Legislature, and to enforce their rights, whole sections and communities became rivals for their legitimate share of the funds. There being no way, readily possible at least, to get the money out of the pocket of the kind of master we had acquired, except by begging for it; begging and cringing prospered, and soon progressed into an amazing political subservience. Strangers to the State wonder at it. But sorrowful and shameful as the consequences are, I firmly believe they would have been the same anywhere under like conditions. Our people are not different from others. Our history contains multiplied proofs of both their courage and sense.

Many influential elements profited directly. Some were softened indirectly by the ramifications of business. More were quiet under the then prevalent delusion of

owing riches, regard of appalling waste and undeniable graft. Many were silent because it was a thankless task in those golden days to stand on the road side and criticize Bombasto.—The Greatest Governor and Builder that ever came down the Pike. No matter how devious his ways; no matter his base political doctrines or degraded standards; no matter 25% waste and stealage; no matter anything, to the thronging parade hell-bent on becoming happy burning up gasoline and prosperous on borrowed money.

All this was just Bombasto's meat. Never had a hustling high-pressure salesman such a rich and promising field before.

At a time when the State needed above all other times in her history, a prudent statesman for a leader, she acquired a man with the arts and morals of a bogus stock operator.

When the people required an economical administrator, sane and cautious in the face of our accumulated adversities, a punishing Providence delivered us over to a foxy lunatic; energetic as a famished wolf, and sleepless on the job of devising ways to spend money to give jobs to acquire power to get more money to give more jobs to get more power, and on and on in a vicious and ruinous circle.

The unparalleled disasters of the State, all striking together as never before,—flood, drouth, and the universal financial collapse, contributed to, his alluring but preposterous argument of borrowing abroad to build roads so as to grow rich at home riding on them. The people fell for it, and the ensuing orgy of waste and extrava-

gance; moral prostration and common vice, was not only tolerated, but many good and honest folks swept off their feet in the thunderstorm of humbug, began to believe Bombasto's abominable slander, that rascality, falsehood, crazy waste and public robbery, had always been and always would be a necessary part of our governmental habit. Bombasto proclaimed this in self defense; and Bombasto represented the authority and fashion of the juicy benefits of a hundred and thirty million dollars under his personal control.

Communities prostrated themselves at the feet of the political bully; courageous and honest men dropped to their political knees, and for civic benefit suffered insults and endured crack-brained mastership, that otherwise they would have met with a horsewhip. Rascality has become so reckless and unconcealed that the people, notwithstanding their own sorry part in the grand debacle, have now entirely lost confidence in the integrity of the Executive Administration. They scorn the Legislature, and look with shocked surprise on our Supreme Court itself. The single and unrestrained control of \$130,000,000.00 would anywhere be dangerous in the hands of any man, good or bad, but when controlled by a man of diseased mind and frenzied activity, who regards his fellow citizens as naught but fools and knaves to be exploited, it has proven here in Louisiana disastrous beyond our present knowledge to calculate.

Such is the plague's deplorable and destructive work,—and what with the daily boisterous flaunting of its effects in the people's

face, and placing sobering plaques vaulting its author on the school houses of our youth by sycophants and profiteers; it is a question as to which will be with us longest,—the baneful effects of unconcealed political debauchery, or the crushing burden of public debt.

But, gentlemen, it is not your most pressing problem in the next sixty days to provide a germicidal bath for foul smelling Louisiana business and politics, though that may well be one of the surprising and unexpected incidents of your session. When finally and roughly awakened to the raw and crude methods of their plucking by revelations, which in spite of the slickest efforts, must be at least partially revealed during your deliberations, the people may become incensed. In their present dangerous mood, certainly they will, if you lay new, unexplained and unjustified tax burdens on them. It is a friendly and respectful warning, gentlemen, that in their present financial condition, the people will not see the controlling members in this Legislature, as in the last, become the hired men of the Executive; drawing hundreds of thousands of dollars in fraudulent salaries and spurious commissions for themselves, their relatives and parasites. When the Treasury was overflowing with borrowed cash, our citizenry was indifferent; but the money has flitted, and now it is another story. Those happy and golden days are in limbo. If any of you, under the precept and practice of the Bombasto administration, have acquired the idea that public office is a private snap; squash it. If any one of you hopes that subservency to Gover-

nor Control can lay its hands on from the public purse, let your private pocket; let him banish that dangerous hope. The people have been tamer than a flock of geese while their tail feathers were being plucked to make soft beds for Bombasto and his Simple Simon henchmen. They haven't even squawked;—not yet. But don't let that fool you. They haven't fully discovered just how bare their posteriors look; and the icy blast of heavy taxation has not yet had a fair shot at them. In the first 30 days of your session, they will get a pretty good reflection of the thoroughness of the job which has been performed upon them; and the shivering truth will burst on their unprotected parts. Then look out! People have been taken for geese before, and turned out to be screaming birds of prey. Be sure too, that the greedy pluckers are not yet satisfied. They never know when to quit. They are aiming to pluck some more;—plenty more, for they have grown accustomed to the high level of silk pajama living. Their flesh, once indifferent to the rough scraping of cotton drawers, now crawls and shrinks from anything less than satin teddies. The boys who used to wash only every Saturday night, now daily receive their guests, and transact business, in scented bathrooms. High powered cars, luxurious apartments, palatial dwellings in swell neighborhoods (bought on credit, so the gulls are told); all these have now become a necessity. These sweets must be had at any cost and at any risk. They are as sure yet as they have always been that a few snatches of scripture, black-guarding someone the people may be supposed to be down on, and



public, while with them in private; will keep the people still while the plucking goes on. This process always worked; it always will, is their simple doctrine. The only change is to whoop it up stronger. Quote more scripture. Propose to "divide up". That will always catch the suckers, they figure. Set up as the modern Robin Hood. So contrive that the plucked people will hope to get at least a fifty-fifty split out of the new plucking. But keep mum that this fifty-fifty formula means a horse to the pluckers, and a rabbit to the suckers. Also keep it snug under the table that in the wind-up the suckers will pay for the horse.

Gentlemen, expect nothing new. You will be cajoled, threatened, and bullied, as of yore; and bribed if possible. The tribe that has been brought in and trained under Bombasto has no mind whatever to give up the easy picking they have had for four years. Their job has been so soft and unresisted, that it is inconceivable to them that the jig is up. Such has been the history of Bosses and Grafting Rings everywhere and in all times; from the days when starving French farmers were told by their Bosses to eat hay, right down to now. Boss Tweed publicly boasted of his amazing power over the millions in New York just a little while before an outraged people sent him to the penitentiary. The Whisky Ring which controlled a debauched Congress, and near stained the great name of President Grant, faded away behind the bars before they knew it. The Ohio Gang of the Harding Administration flourished under the eye, and to the knowledge, of

all Washington and sold everything but the sentiment; yet they wound up in a hideous mess of chain gangs and suicides. These birds never see the gathering storm. It is on them and destruction is their portion before they even suspect that the wind is rising. Such is precisely the present case. The house-cleaning that seems to many so far off in Louisiana, is nearer than they think. Your session may, I repeat, as an incident of your present urgent business, provoke the earthquake. But first and foremost it is your immediate concern to provide the revenue to run the State and pay Bombasto's debts.

What are some of the outstanding facts? What is bound to come to light in spite of Slippery Bombasto's whole bag of tricks?

The following figures are taken from the official reports of the State Treasurer, and the astounding totals show the millions of Road Funds alone (not considering nearly \$60,000,000.00 for other purposes) which Bombasto has controlled without hindrance, and spent as he pleased. It takes no great intelligence to see that this mighty sum has not gone into road construction.

#### Highway Revenue

Jan. 1, 1928 to Jan. 1, 1932 inclusive:

\$24,607,096.68—Gasoline Taxes.

17,888,728.03—Auto License taxes.

285,904.91—Chauffeur's licenses.

\$42,781,729.62—Total for four years.

6,982,966.44—Federal aid four years.

\$49,674,696.06

2,018,622.31—Paid by parishes  
Highway de-  
partment fund.

\$51,693,318.37

736,624.86—Miscellaneous  
sources.

\$52,429,843.23

2,029,393.45—Brought back in-  
to highway fund  
after having  
been lent to oth-  
er funds to hide  
overdrafts.

\$54,459,236.68

Note that the above figures are  
from Jan. 1, 1928 (five months  
before Bombasto took office in  
May 1928) to Jan. 1, 1932, when  
his administration had five months  
more to run. The figures showing  
revenue from autos, chauffeurs  
licenses, and gas tax for five  
months after Jan. 1, 1932, till  
the new administration comes in  
May, are not complete at this  
time, but it is fair to say they will  
more than balance the five months  
before Bombasto took office;  
hence they serve for honest con-  
sideration. This total of \$54,459,  
236.68 cash Road receipts in four  
years, does not include \$66,000,  
000.00, further received from the  
issuance and sale of Road bonds,  
which were:

\$21,000,000.00—in 1929-30, being  
the first issue  
which Bombasto  
told us would  
pave the State as  
per a map which  
he then issued.  
How far he hum-  
bugged the peo-  
ple is seen by the  
additional am-  
ounts of \$45,-

more  
authorized not  
yet sold.

\$15,000,000.00—in 1930.

\$15,000,000.00—in 1931.

\$15,000,000.00—in 1932.

\$66,000,000.00

Every cent of this has disap-  
peared, plus an uncertain further  
sum of about \$10,000,000.00 (as  
vaguely dished out by the High-  
way Department recently when  
the last \$15,000,000.00 of Bonds  
were sold, but in addition to that  
\$15,000,000.00); this last \$10,  
000,000.00 being yet unpaid.  
Hence it is seen that what has  
been spent and settled is:

\$54,459,236.68—from Gas, Li-  
cense and other  
sources, above.  
And

66,000,000.00—From bond sales.

Total—

\$120,459,236.68

Plus—

10,000,000.00—Estimated un-  
paid.

\$130,459,236.68

Bombasto claimed in hundreds  
of speeches this last winter that he  
built "paved" roads at \$25,000.00  
per mile. (It was intended that  
you believe that he meant con-  
crete roads.) If so, he could have  
built 5200 miles of "paved" roads:  
enough to have built 20 "paved"  
roads each over 250 miles in  
length; covering the state like a  
gridiron. Where are they? Farm-  
er's roads at half the price would  
have been so plentiful as to give  
every man a road in front of his  
gate. Where are they? But how  
profitless to ask such foolish ques-

each of  
cure, twenty  
not be instantly blown.  
Nothing is cheaper than the wind  
of seven speeches a day. And so  
long as there are any numbers  
left in the telephone book he has  
figures right at hand to prove  
anything.

Not counting Bombasto, the  
calamities befalling Louisiana in  
these four years are the worst in  
her history. Comparatively a  
small state of medium wealth, the  
blowing in of over \$130,000,000.  
00 of Road funds in 4 years with  
so little visible result, is a matter  
that should excite the liveliest  
apprehension of the citizenry who  
have no choice but to live in this  
State and pay the bill. Will the  
Legislature slur over this and still  
come forward and ask the people  
for more taxes? We will see.

One item alone will arouse  
every honest man's curiosity. Du-  
ring the only years in which we  
have available figures for adja-  
cent states, the years 1928-9-30,  
it is shown by the U. S. Govern-  
ment report that La. State High-  
way Department expended in  
those 3 years \$57,656,894, and  
got \$2,840,746.43 Federal aid.

Texas expended \$110,572,039  
and got \$14,843,544.11 Federal  
aid.

Mississippi expended \$15,623,  
509 and got \$2,721,179.63 Fed-  
eral aid.

Alabama expended \$54,800,935  
and got \$4,982,286.00 Federal  
aid.

Is Louisiana's loss of these mil-  
lions of Federal Aid because Fed-  
eral Aid is granted only under  
Federal supervision, demanding  
economical expenditure, and sound  
road construction, free from wast-  
age and stealage? Any one who

can't see the colored gentleman's  
feels sticking out of that wood-  
pile, can't see anything. Anyone  
who asks the people to pony up  
more, and still more taxes, to pay  
Bombasto out, without first look-  
ing into this and similar questions,  
is not a true Representative; and  
worst of all takes the people for a  
collective fool; the sort of fool  
who continues to stand with a silly  
grin even while he feels and sees  
the still busy fingers continuing  
to rifle every pocket.

In this one matter alone it will  
be seen, when all the government  
figures can be gotten together,  
that Bombasto is a \$10,000,000.00  
loss.

So much for the Road millions  
that have passed away.

Is there anything left? The first  
21 million dollar bond issue (plus  
the \$54,000,000.00 above referred  
to) had not built the roads and  
brought prosperity as per Bom-  
basto's promise; but \$68,000,000.  
00 more certainly would, he again  
promised. To be sure! The first  
bottle had not cured our alleged  
cancer, consumption, and rheuma-  
tism (good also for colic, blind  
staggers and botts in horses, sheep  
and goats), it was admitted; but  
certainly a few more bottles would  
do the job, said the Medicine Man.  
So \$68,000,000.00 was authorized.  
There has of that \$68,000,000.00  
been borrowed and has disappear-  
ed \$45,000,000.00, as shown, leav-  
ing \$23,000,000.00 which Bom-  
basto's successor and former High-  
way Commissioner, now Governor,  
may borrow—if he can find a  
lender. Whether that \$23,000,  
000.00 has already been blown in,  
and now exists in the form of pres-  
ent debt, is a matter that may not  
be truthfully known, depending on  
whether you gentlemen of the

17

Legislature want the facts, and will corkcrew out. What are you going to do about it? That would take some time and cost some money to do; and this would not meet with the approval of the officials who have made away with the money; as you will be told. The economical streak suddenly to be developed by the gentlemen who are responsible for spending these 130 millions, and the many more mentioned below, will no doubt surprise you.

Now when we drop down from considering these scores of millions of Road money, and take up the other trifling millions spent for general government, the state House, the L. S. U. Medical building, and other unnecessary monuments to the Great Constructor, we feel like we are dealing in small change. The old Carpetbag debt of \$11,000,000.00 hung over this State like a pall for 50 years after Reconstruction. It crippled us for two generations, or so we thought under the then current ideas of our old fashioned Governors and State financiers. The people for that half century had no Bombasto to lead them out of the vale of despair. They just languished along under their now obsolete system of buying what they could afford, and paying as they went. Without a Bombasto, how could they know that the way to make old debts look trifling is to create abundant new ones.

Passing now to the general expenses of State Government, which have nothing to do with Roads, we notice that the total appropriations for the Fuqua Administration, 1924-28, according to the Appropriation Acts are \$20,120,927.00; for Bombasto's Administration, 1928-32 also from

the Appropriation Acts are \$55,740,000.00. Bombasto proposes to take the revenue to pay for extra \$5,000,000.00; supposedly by the same magic that a Long Tick Sam, or a Houdini, produced pigeons, ducks and dollars from nowhere.

But now you must be advised (at least we cannot presently imagine by what thimble rigging it can be wholly concealed) that by the authority of the State Liquidation Board, and the votes by mail of the last Legislature, there was borrowed, (that was the magic) up to April 1, 1932, now unpaid and no revenue in sight to pay \$3,416,982.74, plus an overdraft, (which is just so much more borrowing) of approximately \$1,500,000.00, or a total of nearly \$5,000,000.00.

As to this overdraft of \$1,500,000.00, you will be told that taxes coming in will settle that. Within a week after your Session begins you will find this assertion to be another flimflam. The revenue coming in up to June 30, 1932, is accounted for already. That which may come in after that date has always heretofore been deemed available only for the expense of the incoming administration.

In addition to this \$5,000,000.00, many State institutions under Bombasto's encouraging example have run into debt, and this will be not less than \$1,000,000.00 more; and may much exceed this figure. All this will have to come out in the wash, too; unless you expect the people to pay off blindly. And don't expect it, gentlemen.

There is no way for the Legislature to make up the money to pay this Bombasto debt of \$6,000,000.00 or more; except by



and above the State Government. Other states, and the Federal Government, without any Bombastos on their backs, are finding these normal expenses hard to raise. They are making a terrible fuss over it. Your job of finding tax revenues for these usual expenses is tough enough; the toughest job any Legislature has had in the last 30 years; but when you come to add to that outlay further taxes to pay for the Bombasto era of prosperity and miracle man administration there is no fair and just man but will sympathize with you. Sympathize with you, that is, if you are honest, intelligent, and courageous enough to bring to the people the knowledge they are entitled to have. If you do not; if you hitch up with Bombasto and his remnant crew to hide out the facts, and go off on another grand spending spree behind clouds of fraud and fog banks of bunk and circus showmanship, then God pity you, for man will not.

The still further additional \$5,000,000.00 borrowed to build the Capitol, it is true, will require no new taxes to pay. That job designed without competition, a thing unheard of in public building construction, is provided for. But don't overlook the fact, while heaving and straining to lay on new taxes to pay Bombasto's debts, that other governors from Sanders to Fuqua could have built a capitol likewise, but the taxes which have been pledged to pay for it was used by them for maintenance of other State institutions. Now you must find new taxes for that maintenance. That is to say, correctly speaking, that \$5,000,000.00 borrowed to build the

Capitol, instead of being acquired without cost, according to the Bombasto formula, is in fact a heavy tax burden on the people. That \$5,000,000.00 would come in right handily now. The Washington Monument commemorates the sufferings and the fortitude of the brave little colonies fighting for their liberty and symbolizes the pure character of their great leader. This Bombasto Monument will serve for the contemplation and warning of future Louisiana generations, and to remind them of the strange lapse of their normally intelligent ancestors, who for four years fell down and worshiped at the feet of the Great God Bunk.

But it would be like counting the holes in a sponge to enumerate to the end the devious devices and deficits of the Bombasto administration. Much must be omitted. Much of it is not yet known. It depends on you how much more will be brought to light. A hundred thousand dollars would be well spent to unearth the twisting and turnings which have hidden from the people the disappearance of those millions; a hundred thousand dollars would be but a small part of what would be saved for the future by shutting off presently planned operations by which more millions of public money will likewise disappear without a trace and without a public benefit.

## II.

In our extremity it is the duty of any one to offer you a remedy who can.

But none can offer any intelligent cure for the condition, until the full extent of the damage is known. What are the legitimate, and what are the illegitimate debts? What are the gaps in the

law that permit an irresponsible to pile on the people such crushing obligations.

You will not honestly know yourself what protective measures to enact; or how much new taxes to lay on an already stooping people, unless you examine well into the causes of our present unhappy lot. The people will not tolerate strange and unusual levies, unless you fully convince them in the most open way that these new taxes are absolutely necessary to support the State's institutions and preserve its credit. There must not be the slightest suspicion that any part will go into pockets of the old lackeys and election fixers.

In our present hard circumstances, if you blindly and swiftly prescribe medicine to cure the disease; medicine offered by the very men who brought it in; in other words if you vote for the "Administration" measures, because you are simple enough to call yourself "Administration" men, and not because you are intelligent and understanding Legislators, bent on knowing the facts; you will not win the people's confidence. Consider well, gentlemen! For Louisiana Governors and Louisiana Legislators the flush borrowing and spending days have rolled by.

Pay day is here; and here for many years to come. The joy-riding and nest feathering was the pleasure of the last Legislature, and Bombasto's contraceptive public boards.

Yours is the joyless job of paying for the ride you didn't take.

The people won't and they ought not, to pay new heavy taxes, however they may be disguised, to settle the bills without knowing all about it. And I am no

repudiator. I will put an end to the ruinous alike to public credit and public credit, by bringing it to the light of day. The people will do the rest. In the last four years, the masses had no means of finding out what the facts were. A hundred thirty million dollars was sitting on the lid; and a hundred and thirty million dollars can open wide avenues of falsehood and stop the smallest cracks of truth. The people didn't know what was being done to them by the Bombasto system of government. They have been frequently told, 'tis true; but even so, public business is charged by its nature with controversial matter; especially when the Bombastos are uppermost. They get in their work in the confusion raised by their multiplied false countercharges. The whole answer the Bombastos make to any criticism is blackguardism and a flood of figures and statistics as truthful as a patent medicine testimonial. How can a bewildered people employed in their own hard task of making a living, stop to ferret out the truth when claims and charges are flying to and fro?

But the greivous day of horrid discovery finally rolls around. There does come a time when Bombasto's "Gimme the money and leave it to me" operations will be looked into more closely. That time is when the people must dig down into the old jeans and pony up. That is a process that opens the ear of the busiest; and the eye of the most gullible. It is here.

The facts cannot longer be hidden. The spirit of September 14th is not dead in Louisiana, in spite of the popularity of the late slogan - "Get while the getting is

are every organized; and the robust of of vigilant committees may not be wholly a memory in this commonwealth. Don't be fooled! Shocking abuses often go unwhipped for years. Shady practices may spread too widely for the comfort of the great mass of people, who at bottom are honest. Shallow political thinkers may even sharply question the ability of the people to select their officers with intelligence. But be not deceived! All this has happened before; from time to time, and many times. Always it is an exceptional condition. Long before Lincoln it was known that all the people could be fooled part of the time. But always they have swung back harder than ever to admire and enforce the age old, time tried (if not sensational), virtues of common truth, common sincerity, sound judgment, modesty, courage and fortitude. Strutting in front of the Drum Major, caterwauling day and night, shouting one's own smartness, stealing credit from others, destroying the reputations of honest men, bullying the weak and defenseless, scorning the truth, "putting them over," and all such deceptive foolishness have their day in the life of a generation, as does measles, small pox, or black vomit, in the life of the individual. These are abnormalities. They are not standard.

You will dare beyond common sense, and in spite of storm signals, if you let Bombasto's high-pressure salesmanship induce you to put more taxes on our overwrought people. Stand pat! Demand legislative investigations in the wide open and be doubly sure that you convince the people that

the white wash has been laid in the face of the people for "outsmarting the boobies," "licking the transients," "high price selling," and "sawing on the dotted line" which has been an outstanding and successful in the recent era of borrowing and spending will be a dud from now on.

You would be silly to blindly take words, figures, or promises from this Successor of Bombasto's administration; or receive ready made measures from its hands. You dare not levy new taxes on the people without the full approval of their judgment, which you cannot get without the fullest disclosures. You must realize that you alone in this crisis are the representatives of the people, and are, under the direction of the Constitution itself, an independent and personally responsible department of the State Government. You cannot heave your burden over on the shoulders of a suspected Executive Administration and get away with it. It's your job. You must know and you must let the people know.

One thing, at least, stands clear; one thing you cannot do. You cannot hide, or be a party to hiding, from the people the waste and grafting of the Bombasto Administration of 1928-32. The bill for that wild plunge must be accurately ascertained without the least suspicion of concealment; and it must be segregated. The people cannot pay that debt in a day, nor in a year; nor in the next two or four years, from the taxes of those years. Added to the burden of the ordinary expense of the Government, which itself must be reduced to fit the times, such new taxes would bring our people to

the brink of desecration and criminal madness. That the State has got to be paid or the State is published to the world as a bankrupt and our credit, without which we cannot exist as a civilized Government, would be ruined. Such is the price of exalting Bombastos to high office; but we must pay it. That debt can be settled openly and directly by borrowing money to pay it, and repaying the loan by a small annual tax over a period of years. That cannot be done, and ought not to be done, without fixing the precise amount of the debt, the amount of annual tax which will be necessary to repay the loan, and submitting a constitutional amendment, so that the people may know what it is, and approve it.

In addition to stretching that tax over a long time, certain healthy effects are bound to follow this course, effects which are indispensable for the well being of this State, namely:

1. You would so fix in the people's mind Bombasto's abuse of our laws in regard to creating public debt, that neither you, nor future Legislatures, would dare to continue voting huge loans and appropriations by mail, without that open and collective discussion before Legislative Committees at the Capital, under the eyes of the people and the press, which the constitution so plainly and wisely requires. Loading public debts on a distracted people ought not hereafter to be as easy as ordering a banjo from Sears, Roebuck & Co.

2. Laws which allow such outrageous abuse as was practiced under the Bombasto administration will be repealed.

3. New laws will carry with

them the lenders who for profit the conspiracy to create public debt; a sufficient one being that the lenders could neither recover the money at law, nor receive compensating benefits by the hokus-pokus that has become so common under the "outsmarting" system of Bombasto.

Such an amendment and its general discussion before the people would otherwise be beyond price. Not the least salutary effect, would be the present needful teaching that the Government of the people is not a succession of clownship tricks, sensational stunts, blackguard mouthing, drum major strutting, and "putting it over" on a busy populace. The show-man arts of P. T. Barnum, who made a fortune on the belief that one was born every minute; or of General Tom Thumb, of whom it is said, men fought, women fainted and children were trampled in the rush to see the wonder; would cease to be regarded as a necessary factor in orderly Government. The daily injection of Bombasto hop as illustrated by Jim Thompson's paper (and what an about face that is) would only arouse distrustful wonder. We are right now about to be apprised of the stupendous cost to the people, when the Government is a Circus, the Legislature a Side Show, and the Executive Administration contains too many characters who believe that the shell game is an honest way to make a living.

Perhaps the shocking disclosure of the heavy cost of "colorfulness," in office, and "showmanship" in power may have a highly beneficial effect on our electorate.



...as it may seem, another good and needed result of submitting the amendment proposed would be to advise some who don't seem to know it, that "to sell bonds" is merely giving the people's promissory note; and that although they get the money "from selling the bonds" they are but borrowing money and somebody must repay it; that somebody being everybody; always that, and never otherwise. There is no way to repay the loans derived from "bond sales" except to tax the people, their property, their occupations, their gasoline, the things they daily use; and now perhaps some new things we never heard of before; everything the Legislature can lay its hands on to squeeze out more dollars. And it is by such taxes that we are going to pay back the money with which Bombasto was making his great show as a "Constructive Governor." We cannot mortgage our farm, our plant, our business, for showy, useless, or "constructive" improvements, without pay day coming around.

We are up against it, gentlemen. Evasion, sitting on the lid, hiding our bankrupt condition, robbing Peter to pay Paul, and all the smart and shady devices known to slick spendthrifts have finally petered out. The mad dance has come to an end, and the fiddler must be paid.

Such is our case today. Bombasto is through. Nothing will serve now, but to pay up. You may expect to hear, and you will most certainly hear, some more snapping of fingers, stomping of feet, sham shouting, comforting promises of a good time yet to be had by all in the small hours of the morn, and many other signs

of artificial exultation, designed to keep up the sinking spirits of the fagging dancers. The high-pressure boys don't abandon good goose territory so long as there may yet be a few feathers to pick. Bombasto and his accomplices have gotten by so easy and so long in this rich field that they have not the least mind to skip out for new hunting grounds. You will be prettily stroked and wheedled to sign up a few more documents on the dotted line. But again I warn you; signing on the dotted line in these dismal days is sure to be a dangerous business. You do it at your peril.

Those dreadful words Recall and Impeachment are still in the the Constitution and the Laws.

It might be well to keep in mind while Bombasto is cutting his very best and newest capers, and playing you with his renovated sales talks, that few of you can hop the Pullmans, light out for New York, parade the trains in silk pajamas and Russian slippers, flash diamonds as big as a woodpecker's egg, hesitate at Washington to do a publicity stunt on the Senate floor and shout back to the old-time minions over long distance, at \$10.00 per shout. Just remember that when Bombasto is snugly and distantly engaged in these pleasing pastimes, enjoying all of the luxurious accessories of the free spending life, that you will remain back here among the sweating common folk, the yokels and the boobies, the hill billies and river rats, the urban and the rural citizens, in short, among all of us guys who are whooping it up to pay Bombasto's notes. If you remember these things it may save you and us a lot of distress. If you don't remember them, both

you and we are for a lot of distress; you of a kind, we of another, both of you can, by bold, courageous and patriotic conduct, duck responsibility for the future. Nobody can duck the past, not even Bombasto. He has sold his last batch of shoddy goods in this territory, unless you give him one more big boost. He may yet sell some more. He is a go-getter in that line, it must be admitted; but if you ride ahead to prepare the way, to scatter testimonials, and to soften the prospects, woe be unto you. I say this most lovingly and respectfully.

Don't let Bombasto bluff you. There is nothing left in him now but bluster, and a reputation. And what a reputation! The showering millions are gone. He can neither build for you, nor promise you, any more short-change roads. Anybody who would believe his promises on that score will believe anything. He cannot threaten to refuse you jobs or take them away. As old Uncle Ned would say, "They 'ain gwine be no jobs." A job in the hands of a Legislator from henceforth will be a mighty hot potato—not a sackful, but just one will be more than hot enough. So what is there left to Bombasto? In the United States Senate squalling at Demon Corporations and voting for Cherubim Couches is a played out farce. Esau's hand and Jacob's voice is a show they have seen before. "Let's divide 50-50, I get the horse you get the rabbit," is no new song there. In that discerning Chamber Bombasto is deadlier than Hector's noted pup. They have got his number! In no way can he help you, there or here. In no way whatever can he now hurt you, except you deliberately and

of your own self with his infamous flag and march under his discredited flag.

True, there some few millions to be collected annually for the Road Fund, to be spent each year as collected, and which may not yet have been pledged for any loan. These millions under our present silly laws are still left to the sole, exclusive and personal disposition of the present Governor, as it was under Bombasto; that is, if you leave them that way. It may be presumed that his present Excellency knows what to do with them, in building roads or otherwise. He had four years of training under Bombasto; bad or good, according to your idea of what Road Funds ought to be used for. He was the funnel through which Bombasto poured out the mighty treasure. He didn't have to be a funnel unless he liked it. He knows all of Bombasto's tricks; and is no doubt capable enough to devise a few himself. But there is so little left, compared to the riches of the past, that each community will demand and certainly obtain its rightful share, without splitting with the grafters. As for the Birds of Prey, they will, if you choose it that way, have to wing it to other fields. Neither Bombasto, nor his successor, can coerce you into further acts against the people, unless you are foolish, crooked, or scared to death of a lost power. As to that you are to write your own character. None has a right to label you yet. You start with a clean sheet. Unless you are amenable to the tattered and dirty remnants of the greatest single corruptive influence that ever existed in America, it is not too late for you to do something to help the people

who sent there; not much, but some.

It is up to you, gentlemen; you, the Legislature, an independent branch of the Government; not the Bombasto trumpeters and tools in the Executive branch. They are bound, branded and eclipsed before they take the oath of office.

Very respectfully yours,  
**HARRY GAMBLE**  
New Orleans, La.,  
April 20, 1932.

N. B. 1. As respects paying the millions of Bombasto's debts by borrowing the money under the authority of a Constitutional Amendment, and repaying it over a long period, at a small annual tax, instead of levying the whole on the people at one deadly whack, let me, in all humility, offer this suggestion.

But let it be understood that this is only a suggestion, and not indispensable; borrowing the money to pay the debts by bond issue may be indispensable.

This issue of bonds might be dubbed—:

**"Louisiana Kingfish Bonds"**

And a nice pretty picture of a synd Bombasto, such as we used to see in the New Orleans Item, before it took the Bombasto's saw-dust trail (and what a conversion that was) may be placed in one corner, dubbed:

**"The Kingfish of Louisiana"**

with Amos and Andy, gentlemen-in-waiting to his Majesty, somewhat to the rear, ready with silken stacks of rainbow pajamas, and all the garnishments that befit a King.

Such bonds, so decorated, might be printed in two colors, blue for distribution and sale at home, as a "colorful" reminder for a long

time to come of Kingfishes, or gold, for foreign sale and distribution. Promulgated as a and convincing financial fact that Louisiana is the only State in the Union which has a Kingfish and knows it, and is doomed to death with it. Or so the Kingfish proclaims.

N. B. 2. The People and the Contractors who took their sugared facts and news in late months from Bombasto's paper "Louisiana Progress" will now have to go to the daily papers to get the news during the approaching session. The Highway Department is busted; and the Progress is suspended.

N. B. 3. But the Contractors have already heard enough to sicken their souls. Their campaign and other contributions before the recent election were said to have searched to the bottom of their purses; but to cough up \$3,000,000.00 more after the election! What a trimming they got! Our first re-action is that they got what was coming to them, for they have contributed to our plight, but it ought to be remembered that almost all of them are strangers to our state, who came here in good faith to do clean work, as doubtless they had done in other states. How could they know we had prepared a Bombasto for them? It is a hundred to one bet that they had never before seen, or even dreamed of, his like in responsible office. We have our obligations, too.

N. B. 4. As for the thousands of highway employees who were heartlessly turned out to grass after Bombasto had made seven speeches a day during the campaign telling them and the world that all was hunky; well they are paying, too. Their votes had hard-

ly been counseled before Bombasto  
stopped for Washington, and the  
Highway Chief fled to Texas, leav-  
ing them to get the prompt bad  
news from underlings. Many of  
them, at least, must have been do-  
ing honest work, and to be thrown  
out without a moment's notice in

times like these, it was hard  
one.

In Bombasto's pasture there are  
no sheep; all are goats.

N. B. 5. But unless a miracle  
occurs his present Excellency will  
turn out to be the Supreme Goat  
of all.

HARRY GAMBLE.

You will do the State of Louisiana  
a great favor, if after reading this ad-  
dress you pass it on to your neighbor.

If you wish more of these pamph-  
lets write to

HARRY GAMBLE,  
1020 New Orleans Bank Bldg.  
New Orleans, La.



**ADDRESS**  
to the  
**LEGISLATURE**

CONVENING MAY 9, 1932

The Strange Case of  
**LOUISIANA**

AND  
**HUEY P. LONG**

BY  
**HARRY GAMBLE**

of  
**New Orleans**

**APRIL 20, 1932**

**NOT RECORDED**

MAILED

62-27030-0

## ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATURE OF LOUISIANA CONVENING MAY 9th, 1932

Bombast: "High-sounding; inflated; big without meaning."—Century Dictionary.

Facing the frightful facts of this State's political and financial condition, is a stark necessity, or we are hopelessly ruined.

A virulent political pestilence seized Louisiana four years ago. Bombastic promises, bombastic modes of campaign, bombastic exaggeration of every evil, bombastic cures for everything; bombast generally caught on with the people, and the King of Bombast, receiving a minority of votes, traded his way to Executive power. Bombast was enthroned, and Bombasto was sworn in as Governor. There followed the most dazzling era of high pressure selling, colossal waste and stealage, impudent misrepresentation, and scandalous self praise; all combined with grandiose and prodigal schemes of public improvement, ever seen or heard of in the Government of any American state.

Bombasto's example of counterfeit success, thus set up in high place, backed by the exclusive and unhampered personal control of more than a hundred and thirty million dollars of Road funds, poisoned the whole state. Its disintegration of our business standards and political morals may be plainly seen and brazenly heard in both public and private life. Children talk it. The craving for paved roads blinded the people to all else and since a hired man Legislature found it profitable not to provide any legal protection for

these Road funds, they became the largest subtle and respectable corruption fund ever seen in this nation. With no relief to be had from that Legislature, which the Governor publicly boasted he bought like sacks of potatoes and shuffled like cards; and resort to the Courts useless for the want of protective laws; the people themselves became alarmed, well knowing that when these funds were gone no more would be forthcoming. Instead of co-operating to kick out the Punch and Judy show that went under the name of the Louisiana Legislature, and to enforce their rights, whole sections and communities became rivals for their legitimate share of the funds. There being no way, readily possible at least, to get the money out of the pocket of the kind of master we had acquired, except by begging for it; begging and cringing prospered, and soon progressed into an amazing political subservience. Strangers to the State wonder at it. But sorrowful and shameful as the consequences are, I firmly believe they would have been the same anywhere under like conditions. Our people are not different from others. Our history contains multiplied proofs of both their courage and sense.

Many influential elements profited directly. Some were softened indirectly by the ramifications of business. More were quiet under the then prevalent delusion of

men, more and growing richer, regarding appalling waste and undeniable graft. Many were silent because it was a thankless task in those golden days to stand on the road side and criticize Bombasto. The Greatest Governor and Builder that ever came down the Pike. No matter how devious his ways; no matter his base political doctrines or degraded standards; no matter 25% waste and stealage; no matter anything, to the thronging parade hell-beat on becoming happy burning up gasoline and prosperous on borrowed money.

All this was just Bombasto's meat. Never had a hustling high-pressure salesman such a rich and promising field before.

At a time when the State needed above all other times in her history, a prudent statesman for a leader, she acquired a man with the arts and morals of a bogus stock operator.

When the people required an economical administrator, sane and cautious in the face of our accumulated adversities, a punishing Providence delivered us over to a foxy lunatic; energetic as a famished wolf, and sleepless on the job of devising ways to spend money to give jobs to acquire power to get more money to give more jobs to get more power, and on and on in a vicious and ruinous circle.

The unparalleled disasters of the State, all striking together as never before,—flood, drouth, and the universal financial collapse, contributed to his alluring but preposterous argument of borrowing abroad to build roads so as to grow rich at home riding on them. The people fell for it, and the ensuing orgy of waste and extrava-

gant moral degradation and common lying, not only tolerated but man, God and honest folks swept off their feet in the thunderstorm of humbug, began to believe Bombasto's abominable slander, that rascality, falsehood, crazy waste and public robbery, had always been and always would be a necessary part of our governmental habit. Bombasto proclaimed this in self defense; and Bombasto represented the authority and fashion of the juicy benefits of a hundred and thirty million dollars under his personal control.

Communities prostrated themselves at the feet of the political bully; courageous and honest men dropped to their political knees, and for civic benefit suffered insults and endured crack-brained mastership, that otherwise they would have met with a horsewhip. Rascality has become so reckless and unconcealed that the people, notwithstanding their own sorry part in the grand debacle, have now entirely lost confidence in the integrity of the Executive Administration. They scorn the Legislature, and look with shocked surprise on our Supreme Court itself. The single and unrestrained control of \$130,000,000.00 would anywhere be dangerous in the hands of any man, good or bad, but when controlled by a man of diseased mind and frenzied activity, who regards his fellow citizens as naught but fools and knaves to be exploited, it has proven here in Louisiana disastrous beyond our present knowledge to calculate.

Such is the plague's deplorable and destructive work,—and what with the daily beisterous flaunting of its effects in the people's

face, and play slobbering plaques vaunting author on the school houses of our youth by sycophants and profiteers; it is a question as to which will be with us longest,—the baneful effects of unconcealed political debauchery, or the crushing burden of public debt.

But, gentlemen, it is not your most pressing problem in the next sixty days to provide a germicidal bath for foul smelling Louisiana business and politics, though that may well be one of the surprising and unexpected incidents of your session. When finally and roughly awakened to the raw and crude methods of their plucking by revelations, which in spite of the slickest efforts, must be at least partially revealed during your deliberations, the people may become incensed. In their present dangerous mood, certainly they will, if you lay new, unexplained and unjustified tax burdens on them. It is a friendly and respectful warning, gentlemen, that in their present financial condition, the people will not see the controlling members in this Legislature, as in the last, become the hired men of the Executive; drawing hundreds of thousands of dollars in fraudulent salaries and spurious commissions for themselves, their relatives and parasites. When the Treasury was overflowing with borrowed cash, our citizenry was indifferent; but the money has flitted, and now it is another story. Those happy and golden days are in limbo. If any of you, under the precept and practice of the Bombasto administration, have acquired the idea that public office is a private snap; squash it. If any one of you hopes that subserviency to Gover-

nor Control can lay pipe line from the public purse to your private pocket; let him banish that dangerous hope. The people have been tamer than a flock of geese while their tail feathers were being plucked to make soft beds for Bombasto and his Simple Simon henchmen. They haven't even squawked;—not yet. But don't let that fool you. They haven't fully discovered just how bare their posteriors look; and the icy blast of heavy taxation has not yet had a fair shot at them. In the first 30 days of your session, they will get a pretty good reflection of the thoroughness of the job which has been performed upon them; and the shivering truth will burst on their unprotected parts. Then look out! People have been taken for geese before, and turned to be screaming birds of prey. Be sure too, that the greedy plucker are not yet satisfied. They never know when to quit. They are aiming to pluck some more;—plenty more, for they have grown accustomed to the high level silk pajama living. Their flesh once indifferent to the rough scraping of cotton drawers, now crawls and shrinks from anything less than satin teddies. The boys who used to wash only every Saturday night, now daily receive their guests, and transact business, in scented bathrooms. High powered cars, luxurious apartments, palatial dwellings in swell neighborhoods (bought on credit, so the gulls are told); all these have now become a necessity. These sweets must be had at any cost and at any risk. They are as sure yet as they have always been that a few snatches of scripture, black-guarding someone the people may be supposed to be down on, and



abusing the rich in public, while consorting with them in private; will keep the people still while the plucking goes on. This process always worked; it always will, is their simple doctrine. The only change is to whoop it up stronger. Quote more scripture. Propose to "divide up". That will always catch the suckers, they figure. Set up as the modern Robin Hood. So contrive that the plucked people will hope to get at least a fifty-fifty split out of the new plucking. But keep mum that this fifty-fifty formula means a horse to the pluckers, and a rabbit to the suckers. Also keep it snug under the table that in the wind-up the suckers will pay for the horse.

Gentlemen, expect nothing new. You will be cajoled, threatened, and bullied, as of yore; and bribed if possible. The tribe that has been brought in and trained under Bombasto has no mind whatever to give up the easy picking they have had for four years. Their job has been so soft and unresisted, that it is inconceivable to them that the jig is up. Such has been the history of Bosses and Grafting Rings everywhere and in all times; from the days when starving French farmers were told by their Bosses to eat hay, right down to now. Boss Tweed publicly boasted of his amazing power over the millions in New York just a little while before an outraged people sent him to the penitentiary. The Whisky Ring, which controlled a debauched Congress, and near stained the great name of President Grant, faded away behind the bars before they knew it. The Ohio Gang of the Harding Administration flourished under the eye, and to the knowledge, of

all Washington, and sold everything but the Mississippi; yet they wound up in a hideous mess of chain gangs and suicides. These birds never see the gathering storm. It is on them and destruction is their portion before they even suspect that the wind is rising. Such is precisely the present case. The house-cleaning that seems to many so far off in Louisiana, is nearer than they think. Your session may, I repeat, as an incident of your present urgent business, provoke the earthquake. But first and foremost it is your immediate concern to provide the revenue to run the State and pay Bombasto's debts.

What are some of the outstanding facts? What is bound to come to light in spite of Slippery Bombasto's whole bag of tricks?

The following figures are taken from the official reports of the State Treasurer, and the astounding totals show the millions of Road Funds alone (not considering nearly \$60,000,000.00 for other purposes) which Bombasto has controlled without hindrance, and spent as he pleased. It takes no great intelligence to see that this mighty sum has not gone into road construction.

#### Highway Revenue

Jan. 1, 1928 to Jan. 1, 1932 inclusive:

\$24,607,096.68—Gasoline Taxes.

17,888,728.03—Auto License taxes.

285,904.91—Chauffeur's licenses.

\$42,781,729.62—Total for four years.

6,982,966.44—Federal aid four years.

\$49,674,696.06

2,018,622.31—paid by parishes  
into highway de-  
partment fund.

\$51,693,318.37

736,524.86—Miscellaneous  
sources.

\$52,429,843.23

2,029,393.45—Brought back in-  
to highway fund  
after having  
been lent to oth-  
er funds to hide  
overdrafts.

\$54,459,236.68

Note that the above figures are  
from Jan. 1, 1928 (five months  
before Bombasto took office in  
May 1928) to Jan. 1, 1932, when  
his administration had five months  
more to run. The figures showing  
revenue from autos, chauffeurs  
licenses, and gas tax for five  
months after Jan. 1, 1932, till  
the new administration comes in  
May, are not complete at this  
time, but it is fair to say they will  
more than balance the five months  
before Bombasto took office;  
hence they serve for honest con-  
sideration. This total of \$54,459,-  
236.68 cash Road receipts in four  
years, does not include \$66,000,-  
000.00, further received from the  
issuance and sale of Road bonds,  
which were:

\$21,000,000.00—in 1929-30, being  
the first issue  
which Bombasto  
told us would  
pave the State as  
per a map which  
he then issued.  
How far he hum-  
bugged the peo-  
ple is seen by the  
additional am-  
ounts of \$45,-

000,000.00 since  
issued, and \$25,-  
000,000.00 more  
authorized not  
yet sold.

\$15,000,000.00—in 1930.

\$15,000,000.00—in 1931.

\$15,000,000.00—in 1932.

\$66,000,000.00

Every cent of this has disap-  
peared, plus an uncertain further  
sum of about \$10,000,000.00 (as  
vaguely dished out by the High-  
way Department recently when  
the last \$15,000,000.00 of Bonds  
were sold; but in addition to that  
\$15,000,000.00); this last \$10,-  
000,000.00 being yet unpaid.  
Hence it is seen that what has  
been spent and settled is:

\$54,459,236.68—from Gas, Li-  
cense and other  
sources, above.  
And

66,000,000.00—From bond sales.

Total—

\$120,459,236.68

Plus—

10,000,000.00—Estimated un-  
paid.

\$130,459,236.68

Bombasto claimed in hundreds  
of speeches this last winter that he  
built "paved" roads at \$25,000.00  
per mile. (It was intended that  
you believe that he meant con-  
crete roads.) If so, he could have  
built 5200 miles of "paved" roads:  
enough to have built 20 "paved"  
roads each over 250 miles in  
length; covering the state like a  
gridiron. Where are they? Farm-  
er's roads at half the price would  
have been so plentiful as to give  
every man a road in front of his  
gate. Where are they? But how  
profitless to ask such foolish ques-

cons of Bombasto. For each of his cons you puncture, twenty more are instantly blown up. Nothing is cheaper than the wind of seven speeches a day. And so long as there are any numbers left in the telephone book he has figures right at hand to prove anything.

Not counting Bombasto, the calamities befalling Louisiana in these four years are the worst in her history. Comparatively a small state of medium wealth, the blowing in of over \$130,000,000.00 of Road funds in 4 years with so little visible result, is a matter that should excite the liveliest apprehension of the citizenry who have no choice but to live in this State and pay the bill. Will the Legislature slur over this and still come forward and ask the people for more taxes? We will see.

One item alone will arouse every honest man's curiosity. During the only years in which we have available figures for adjacent states, the years 1928-9-30, it is shown by the U. S. Government report that La. State Highway Department expended in those 3 years \$57,656,894, and got \$2,840,746.43 Federal aid.

Texas expended \$110,572,039 and got \$14,843,544.11 Federal aid.

Mississippi expended \$15,623,509 and got \$2,721,179.63 Federal aid.

Alabama expended \$54,800,935 and got \$4,982,286.00 Federal aid.

Is Louisiana's loss of these millions of Federal Aid because Federal Aid is granted only under Federal supervision, demanding economical expenditure, and sound road construction, free from wastage and stealage? Any one who

can't see the colored gentleman's heels sticking out of that woodpile, can't see anything. Anyone who asks the people to pony up more, and still more taxes, to pay Bombasto out, without first looking into this and similar questions, is not a true Representative; and worst of all takes the people for a collective fool; the sort of fool who continues to stand with a silly grin even while he feels and sees the still busy fingers continuing to rifle every pocket.

In this one matter alone it will be seen, when all the government figures can be gotten together, that Bombasto is a \$10,000,000.00 loss.

So much for the Road millions that have passed away.

Is there anything left? The first 21 million dollar bond issue (plus the \$54,000,000.00 above referred to) had not built the roads, and brought prosperity as per Bombasto's promise; but \$68,000,000.00 more certainly would, he again promised. To be sure! The first bottle had not cured our alleged cancer, consumption, and rheumatism (good also for colic, blind staggers and botts in horses, sheep and goats), it was admitted; but certainly a few more bottles would do the job, said the Medicine Man. So \$68,000,000.00 was authorized. There has of that \$68,000,000.00 been borrowed and has disappeared \$45,000,000.00, as shown, leaving \$23,000,000.00 which Bombasto's successor and former Highway Commissioner, now Governor, may borrow—if he can find a lender. Whether that \$23,000,000.00 has already been blown in, and now exists in the form of present debt, is a matter that may not be truthfully known, depending on whether you gentlemen of the

Legislature want the facts, and will corkcrew them out. What are you going to do about it? That would take some time and cost some money to do; and this would not meet with the approval of the officials who have made away with the money; as you will be told. The economical streak suddenly to be developed by the gentlemen who are responsible for spending these 130 millions, and the many more mentioned below, will no doubt surprise you.

Now when we drop down from considering these scores of millions of Road money, and take up the other trifling millions spent for general government, the state House, the L. S. U. Medical building, and other unnecessary monuments to the Great Constructor, we feel like we are dealing in small change. The old Carpetbag debt of \$11,000,000.00 hung over this State like a pall for 50 years after Reconstruction. It crippled us for two generations, or so we thought under the then current ideas of our old fashioned Governors and State financiers. The people for that half century had no Bombasto to lead them out of the vale of despair. They just languished along under their now obsolete system of buying what they could afford, and paying as they went. Without a Bombasto, how could they know that the way to make old debts look trifling is to create abundant new ones.

Passing now to the general expenses of State Government, which have nothing to do with Roads, we notice that the total appropriations for the Fuqua Administration, 1924-28, according to the Appropriation Acts are \$20,120,927.00; for Bombasto's Administration, 1928-32 also from

the Appropriation Acts, \$22,652,655.74. Bombasto promised to create the revenue to pay this extra \$5,000,000.00; supposedly by the same magic that a Long Tick Sam, or a Houdini, produced pigeons, ducks and dollars from nowhere.

But now you must be advised (at least we cannot presently imagine by what thimble rigging it can be wholly concealed) that by the authority of the State Liquidation Board, and the votes by mail of the last Legislature, there was borrowed, (that was the magic) up to April 1, 1932, now unpaid and no revenue in sight to pay \$3,416,982.74, plus an overdraft, (which is just so much more borrowing) of approximately \$1,500,000.00, or a total of nearly \$5,000,000.00.

As to this overdraft of \$1,500,000.00, you will be told that taxes coming in will settle that. Within a week after your Session begins you will find this assertion to be another flimflam. The revenue coming in up to June 30, 1932, is accounted for already. That which may come in after that date has always heretofore been deemed available only for the expense of the incoming administration.

In addition to this \$5,000,000.00, many State institutions under Bombasto's encouraging example have run into debt, and this will be not less than \$1,000,000.00 more; and may much exceed this figure. All this will have to come out in the wash, too; unless you expect the people to pay off blindly. And don't expect it, gentlemen.

There is no way for the Legislature to make up the money to pay this Bombasto debt of \$6,000,000.00 or more; except by



Additional taxes over and above the normal expenses of the State Government. Other states, and the Federal Government, without any Bombastos on their backs, are finding these normal expenses hard to raise. They are making a terrible fuss over it. Your job of finding tax revenues for these usual expenses is tough enough; the toughest job any Legislature has had in the last 30 years; but when you come to add to that outlay further taxes to pay for the Bombasto era of prosperity and miracle man administration there is no fair and just man but will sympathize with you. Sympathize with you, that is, if you are honest, intelligent, and courageous enough to bring to the people the knowledge they are entitled to have. If you do not; if you hitch up with Bombasto and his remnant crew to hide out the facts, and go off on another grand spending spree behind clouds of fraud and fog banks of bunk and circus showmanship, then God pity you, for man will not.

The still further additional \$5,000,000.00 borrowed to build the Capitol, it is true, will require no new taxes to pay. That job designed without competition, a thing unheard of in public building construction, is provided for. But don't overlook the fact, while heaving and straining to lay on new taxes to pay Bombasto's debts, that other governors from Sanders to Fuqua could have built a capitol likewise, but the taxes which have been pledged to pay for it was used by them for maintenance of other State institutions. Now you must find new taxes for that maintenance. That is to say, correctly speaking, that \$5,000,000.00 borrowed to build the

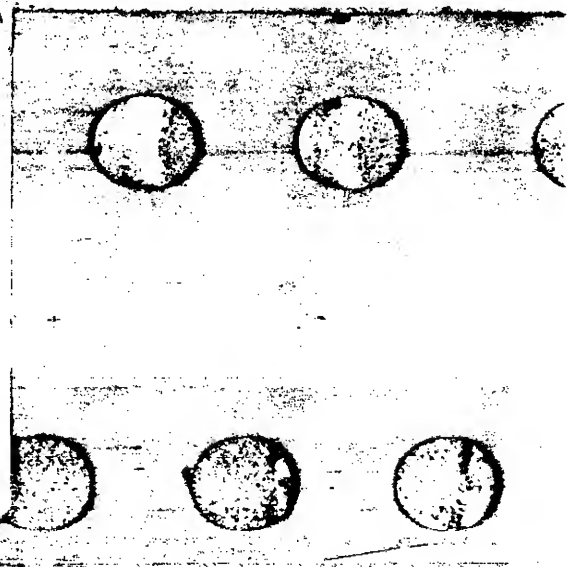
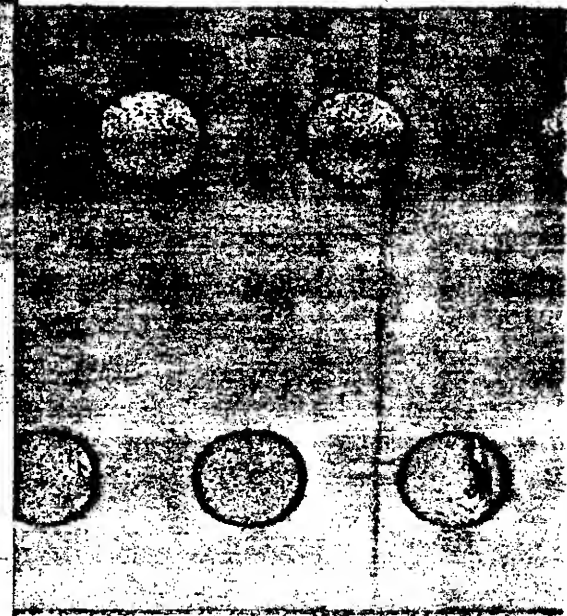
Capitol, instead of being acquired without cost, according to the Bombasto formula, is in fact a heavy tax burden on the people. That \$5,000,000.00 would come in right handily now. The Washington Monument commemorates the sufferings and the fortitude of the brave little colonies-fighting for their liberty and symbolizes the pure character of their great leader. This Bombasto Monument will serve for the contemplation and warning of future Louisiana generations, and to remind them of the strange lapse of their normally intelligent ancestors, who for four years fell down and worshiped at the feet of the Great God Bunk.

But it would be like counting the holes in a sponge to enumerate to the end the devious devices and deficits of the Bombasto administration. Much must be omitted. Much of it is not yet known. It depends on you how much more will be brought to light. A hundred thousand dollars would be well spent to unearth the twisting and turnings which have hidden from the people the disappearance of those millions; a hundred thousand dollars would be but a small part of what would be saved for the future by shutting off presently planned operations by which more millions of public money will likewise disappear without a trace and without a public benefit.

## II.

In our extremity it is the duty of any one to offer you a remedy who can.

But none can offer any intelligent cure for the condition, until the full extent of the damage is known. What are the legitimate, and what are the illegitimate debts? What are the gaps in the



law that permits an irresponsible to pile on the people such crushing obligations.

You will not honestly know yourself what protective measures to enact; or how much new taxes to lay on an already stooping people, unless you examine well into the causes of our present unhappy lot. The people will not tolerate strange and unusual levies, unless you fully convince them in the most open way that these new taxes are absolutely necessary to support the State's institutions and preserve its credit. There must not be the slightest suspicion that any part will go into pockets of the old lackeys and election fixers.

In our present hard circumstances, if you blindly and swiftly prescribe medicine to cure the disease; medicine offered by the very men who brought it in; in other words if you vote for the "Administration" measures, because you are simple enough to call yourself "Administration" men, and not because you are intelligent and understanding Legislators, bent on knowing the facts; you will not win the people's confidence. Consider well, gentlemen! For Louisiana Governors and Louisiana Legislators the flush borrowing and spending days have rolled by.

Pay day is here; and here for many years to come. The joy-riding and nest feathering was the pleasure of the last Legislature, and Bombasto's contraceptive public boards.

Yours is the joyless job of paying for the ride you didn't take.

The people won't and they ought not, to pay new heavy taxes, however they may be disguised, to settle the bills without knowing all about it. And I am no

reputationist. The only way to put an end to our humbug, fumous talk to political morals and public credit, is to bring it to the light of day. The people will do the rest. In the last four years, the masses had no means of finding out what the facts were. A hundred thirty million dollars was sitting on the lid; and a hundred and thirty million dollars can open wide avenues of falsehood and stop the smallest cracks of truth. The people didn't know what was being done to them by the Bombasto system of government. They have been frequently told, 'tis true; but even so, public business is charged by its nature with controversial matter; especially when the Bombastos are uppermost. They get in their work in the confusion raised by their multiplied false countercharges. The whole answer the Bombastos make to any criticism is black-guardism and a flood of figures and statistics as truthful as a patent medicine testimonial. How can a bewildered people employed in their own hard task of making a living, stop to ferret out the truth when claims and charges are flying to and fro?

But the greivous day of horrid discovery finally rolls around. There does come a time when Bombasto's "Gimme the money and leave it to me" operations will be looked into more closely. That time is when the people must dig down into the old jeans and pony up. That is a process that opens the ear of the busiest; and the eye of the most gullible. It is here.

The facts cannot longer be hidden. The spirit of September 14th is not dead in Louisiana, in spite of the popularity of the late slogan "Get while the getting is

good. Tax associations are everywhere being organized; and the robust vigor of vigilant committees may not be wholly a memory in this commonwealth. Don't be fooled! Shocking abuses often go unwhipped for years. Shady practices may spread too widely for the comfort of the great mass of people, who at bottom are honest. Shallow political thinkers may even sharply question the ability of the people to select their officers with intelligence. But be not deceived! All this has happened before; from time to time, and many times. Always it is an exceptional condition. Long before Lincoln it was known that all the people could be fooled part of the time. But always they have swung back harder than ever to admire and enforce the age old, time tried (if not sensational), virtues of common truth, common sincerity, sound judgment, modesty, courage and fortitude. Strutting in front of the Drum Major; caterwauling day and night, shouting one's own smartness, stealing credit from others, destroying the reputations of honest men, bullying the weak and defenseless, scorning the truth, "putting them over," and all such deceptive foolishness have their day in the life of a generation, as does measles, small pox, or black vomit, in the life of the individual. These are abnormalities. They are not standard.

You will dare beyond common sense, and in spite of storm signals, if you let Bombasto's high-pressure salesmanship induce you to put more taxes on our overwrought people. Stand pat! Demand legislative investigations in the wide open and be doubly sure that you convince the people that

the whitewash has been left in the back yard. This is no time for "outsmarting the books" or "slicking" the unsuspecting. "High-pressure selling" and "signing on the dotted line" which has been so outstanding and successful in the recent era of borrowing and spending will be duds from now on.

You would be silly to blindly take words, figures, or promises from this Successor of Bombasto's administration; or receive ready made measures from its hands. You dare not levy new taxes on the people without the full approval of their judgment, which you cannot get without the fullest disclosures. You must realize that you alone in this crisis are the representatives of the people, and are, under the direction of the Constitution itself, an independent and personally responsible department of the State Government. You cannot heave your burden over on the shoulders of a suspected Executive Administration and get away with it. It's your job. You must know and you must let the people know.

One thing, at least, stands clear; one thing you cannot do. You cannot hide, or be a party to hiding, from the people the waste and grafting of the Bombasto Administration of 1928-32. The bill for that wild plunge must be accurately ascertained without the least suspicion of concealment; and it must be segregated. The people cannot pay that debt in a day, nor in a year; nor in the next two or four years, from the taxes of those years. Added to the burden of the ordinary expense of the Government, which itself must be reduced to fit the times, such new taxes would bring our people to

the brink of despair and criminal madness. That debt has got to be paid or the State is published to the world as a bankrupt, and our credit, without which we cannot exist as a civilized Government, would be ruined. Such is the price of exalting Bombastos to high office; but we must pay it. That debt can be settled openly and directly by borrowing money to pay it, and repaying the loan by a small annual tax over a period of years. That cannot be done, and ought not to be done, without fixing the precise amount of the debt, the amount of annual tax which will be necessary to repay the loan, and submitting a constitutional amendment, so that the people may know what it is, and approve it.

In addition to stretching that tax over a long time, certain healthy effects are bound to follow this course, effects which are indispensable for the well being of this State, namely:

1. You would so fix in the people's mind Bombasto's abuse of our laws in regard to creating public debt, that neither you, nor future Legislatures, would dare to continue voting huge loans and appropriations by mail, without that open and collective discussion before Legislative Committees at the Capital, under the eyes of the people and the press, which the constitution so plainly and wisely requires. Loading public debts on a distracted people ought not hereafter to be as easy as ordering a banjo from Sears, Roebuck & Co.

2. Laws which allow such outrageous abuse as was practiced under the Bombasto administration will be repealed.

3. New laws will carry with

them enforceable penalties against lenders who for profit would join the conspiracy to create public debt; a sufficient one being that the lenders could neither recover the money at law, nor receive compensating benefits by the hokus-pokus that has become so common under the "outsmarting" system of Bombasto.

Such an amendment and its general discussion before the people would otherwise be beyond price. Not the least salutary effect, would be the present needful teaching that the Government of the people is not a succession of clownship tricks, sensational stunts, blackguard mouthing, drum major strutting, and "putting it over" on a busy populace. The show-man arts of P. T. Barnum, who made a fortune on the belief that one was born every minute; or of General Tom Thumb, of whom it is said, men fought, women fainted and children were trampled in the rush to see the wonder; would cease to be regarded as a necessary factor in orderly Government. The daily injection of Bombasto hop as illustrated by Jim Thompson's paper (and what an about face that is) would only arouse distrustful wonder. We are right now about to be apprised of the stupendous cost to the people, when the Government is a Circus, the Legislature a Side Show, and the Executive Administration contains too many characters who believe that the shell game is an honest way to make a living.

Perhaps the shocking disclosure of the heavy cost of "colorfulness," in office, and "showmanship" in power may have a highly beneficial effect on our electorate.